A Social Progress Reprint

SOCIAL DELIVERANCES

United Presbyterians Speak

—General Assembly
Deliverances
Present and Past

Concerning the Deliverances

SIXTY-NINE persons were directly involved in the preliminary work on the social deliverances of the 170th General Assembly of The United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

They were members of the former Committee on Temperance and Social Education of the United Presbyterian Church of North America (12), the former Counseling Committee on Social Education and Action of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. (22), the Standing Committee on Social Education and Action of the 170th General Assembly (30), and the executive staffs of the social education and action departments of the two merging churches (5). More than half of these sixty-nine persons were from the laity (10 women and 27 men).

In the Making

The process by which the deliverances were prepared is almost as important as the statements themselves. The process is far from perfect, but we think it is a quite effective demonstration of responsible democracy.

1. The "counseling committees" on social education and action (both U.P. and U.S.A.) met together in 1957. Full meetings of the two groups were held in November, in February, and in April. In addition, there were several subcommittee meetings.

2. The Standing Committee on Social Education and Action of the General Assembly was composed of one representative from each of the twenty-nine electing sections, into which the Assembly was divided, on the first day on the basis of geographical regions. Each odd-numbered section selected a minister for the committee; even-numbered sections named elders. The chairman, in this case a minister, was named by the Moderator.

The Standing Committee met for a total of about fifteen hours during the early part of the General Assembly. Its work was completed by Sunday evening. The report was printed on Monday and distributed to the commissioners on Tuesday, the second-last day of the Pittsburgh meetings.

It should be noted that the Standing Committee is required by the rules of the General Assembly to give very serious attention to the report of the counseling groups. The Standing Committee is really not free, by its own decision, to deal with issues that are not treated in the recommendations submitted by the counseling committees. If it desires to do so, however, the Standing Committee may ask the General Assembly's permission to delve into other areas of concern.

3. The report was debated by the General Assembly on Wednesday morning. Nearly two and one half hours were devoted to a very full and free discussion of the recommendations. The debate was earnest and vigorous and always sincere. The General Assembly finally approved the report with only minor amendments. The final vote on the pronouncements reflected nearly unanimous endorsement by the 1,200 commissioners.

4. The executive staffs of the social education and action departments of the two churches (now merged into one department with an enlarged staff) serve as consultants to both the counseling committees and to the Standing Committee during the preliminary work on the social deliverances.

5. Members of the groups working on the pronouncements are always mindful of the serious importance of their task. The process is designed so as to facilitate quiet study and deep thinking by which the issues are analyzed in the light of God's desire for men and for the world. The committees are bound to pay some attention to the "by-and-large" thinking of the Presbyterian church members on the issues before them, in so far as this can be known or estimated. The consensus of Presbyterians, however, is not the determining factor in formulating the deliverances. In developing their recommendations, the committees desire not to express "the mind of Presbyterians" but "the mind of Christ."

How Binding?

The 1958 deliverances conclude with the paragraph in which the General Assembly reminds the ministers and members of our church that God alone is Lord of conscience, that the deliverances do not have the force of church law, that they are intended to point the way to faithful response to God's action in our time, and that they therefore cannot be ignored or lightly dismissed, but must be taken seriously as guides to Christian action.

An understanding of the function of the social pronouncements involves the whole question of authority as such in our Presbyterian tradition. Presbyterians, generally speaking, recognize at least four kinds of authority.

First, there is that enforceable authority which resides in the judicatories of the church. This authority is limited to the obvious breaches of Scriptural and ecclesiastical laws as clearly defined in our constitution. There are various degrees of censure ranging up to excommunication. It is ob-

vious that the social deliverances do not fall within the scope of this kind of ecclesiastical authority.

Secondly, there is the authority which resides in a group by virtue of its prestige and influence. This authority is obviously not enforceable by any external judicatory. It is, however, nonetheless forceful and persuasive in so far as the judgment of this body falls within the generally accepted limits of responsibility and competence ascribed to the group. It should be obvious that the social deliverances of the General Assembly could possess a good measure of this second type of authority.

In the third place, there is the self-validating authority by which any statement of truth, if it be truth, testifies persuasively to the unprejudiced conscience and the intellect of the man of common sense and good will. This is, of course, one type of authority that has always been believed to reside in Scripture—the coherence and general consistency, the thread of continuity and integrity, which runs throughout the Scriptural record. Such authority and persuasiveness are, of course, recognizable only to the person who approaches the body of truth without previous bias or, if he has previous bias, with the recognition that it exists in himself. It would seem that the pronouncements, in so far as they be true, would possess this kind of authority.

Finally, there is the only ultimate authority, which the Presbyterian recognizes as the rightful ruler of the conscience of the believer—that is, the inner testimony of the Holy Spirit. And again, if the pronouncements be true, and if the Christian be willing to submit himself to the testimony of the Holy Spirit regardless of how it may go against his mental and his emotional set, they may certainly be said to possess this authority.

The individual church member who is concerned about serving his Lord should give most careful and prayerful thought before he considers repudiating the judgment of the General Assembly as expressed in the social deliverances. He has the right, with Luther, to repudiate the counsels of the highest judicatory of The United Presbyterian Church on social matters and say, "Here I stand, God help me, I can do no other." But he should consider the real possibility that the judgment expressed so consistently through the years by Presbyterian Church bodies may be right and true.

Their Value

If the General Assembly pronouncements are not binding upon the individual, if they are not enforceable and are merely "advisory and ministerial," then what is their value and their function?

They have at least a fourfold use:

First, they sensitize and, we would hope, enlighten the minds of the members, ministers, and officers of the church. They encourage study and awareness of issues where otherwise there might be complacency and ignorance.

Second, they guide thought and sometimes even modify attitudes.

(*Continued on page 11*)

Social Deliverances

of the 170th General Assembly of The United Presbyterian Church U.S.A.

I. The Ground on Which We Stand

Confessing **our faith that God, who is Creator of all things, is sovereign over his creation, and that no area of life—personal, social, or economic—is beyond his rule and redemption;**

Believing **that God, who has spoken in many and diverse ways to his people, and through his people to the world, still speaks today, and that his word, decisively and uniquely revealed in Jesus Christ, is one of both judgment and mercy;**

Believing **that God's word and will are today most critically revealed as the Scriptures illuminate the social, political, and economic order, and that his judgment and mercy are more particularly manifest in the struggle for human rights, in the development of nuclear energy, in the world-wide revolt against political and economic domination;**

Believing **that our task as Christians and as a church is to discern what God is saying and doing, and to respond in obedience to him who is our Creator, Judge, and Redeemer,**

The General Assembly

Affirms **its conviction that neither the church as the body of Christ, nor Christians as individuals, can be neutral or indifferent toward evil in the world;**

Affirms **its responsibility to speak on social and moral issues for the encouragement and instruction of the church and its members, seeking earnestly both to know the mind of Christ and to speak always in humility and love;**

Reminds **the churches that their duty is not only to encourage and train their members in daily obedience to God's will, but corporately to reveal God's grace in places of suffering and need, to resist the forces that tyrannize, and to support the forces that restore the dignity of all men as the children of God, for only so is the gospel most fully proclaimed;**

Urges **synods and presbyteries to maintain strong committees on social education and action and to make ample provision for their work; and**

Directs **the Department of Social Education and Action to use all proper and available means to guide the churches in responding to God's action in the events of our time.**

II. The Threat of Nuclear War

BELIEVING that our civilization, like every civilization of the past, is under God's judgment for its sin and idolatry;

Believing that the clear duty of the church is to warn nations against the idolatry of power and self-interest which may lead to nuclear

war and to immeasurable disaster;

Believing that the church, which cannot admit of any state's independence from the law and purpose of God, has a responsibility under God to remind the state of its duty continually to seek that balance of justice, freedom, and order which will minister to the common good;

Acknowledging that many Christians themselves have become morally insensitive to the terrible suffering and destruction inherent in the present armament race, particularly in the continued production and testing of weapons of mass obliteration,

The General Assembly

Reminds the ministers and members of our churches that it is needful for Christians to be penitent for their failure to be the "salt of the earth" and its "leaven" and for their involvement in the conditions that make for war, and that Christians must call upon this nation and all nations to stop the armaments race by pursuing patiently and persistently every opportunity for realistic negotiation toward this end, not with the assurance that our civilization will thus be saved but in order that we may be obedient to God who calls us to pray and to work for "the things that make for peace";

Believes that it is God's will that the testing and stockpiling of nuclear weapons should give place to the co-operative development of controlled nuclear power for peaceful and constructive purposes, and calls upon our Government to take prompt and forthright leadership in this direction, counseled not by fear but by faith in God's overruling providence.

III. Former Pronouncements

Realizing that the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church of North America and the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America have, in years past, spoken usefully and in detail on the responsibilities of the church and of Christians with respect to social issues of our time, and that many of these deliverances are relevant today,

The General Assembly

Calls these deliverances to the attention of the members of our churches through their ministers and sessions, and recommends especially the following pronouncements and statements for appropriate study and action [*printed in full on the remaining pages*];

Suggests that the Department of Social Education and Action undertake further studies for the guidance of the churches especially in the areas of (*a*) industrial relations and (*b*) crime prevention and correction;

Reminds the ministers and members of our church that God alone is Lord of conscience; that the social deliverances of the General Assembly do not have the force of church law and do not bind the freedom of decision and action of any member

or judicatory of the church; that they are intended rather to point the way to faithful response to God's action in the events of our time; that they cannot therefore be ignored or lightly dismissed but must be taken seriously as guides to Christian action; that every session has laid upon it the responsibility not only to make these deliverances known but also to determine their unique relevance to the situation in which the church is called of God to witness and serve;

Directs the Department to send the aforementioned statements and pronouncements to all churches.

Russell Stevenson, *Chairman* (*New York, N. Y.*)

Samuel G. Orlandi, *Vice-Chairman*

The Standing Committee on Social Education and Action

Russell Stevenson, *Chairman*

Samuel G. Orlandi, *Vice-Chairman*

Ministers	*Presbytery*
John F. Duffy, Jr., Akron, Ohio	Cleveland
George F. Ellison, Philadelphia, Pa.	Philadelphia
Samuel J. Holt, Seneca Falls, N. Y.	Geneva-Lyons
Kirk A. Hudson, New Egypt, N. J.	Monmouth
Converse P. Hunter, New York, N. Y.	New York
John G. Marvin, Denton, Texas	Fort Worth
Donald L. Mathews, Kalamazoo, Mich.	West Michigan
Samuel G. Orlandi, Fort Lauderdale, Fla.	Southeast Florida
Leland G. Rubesh, Wausaukee, Wis.	Winnebago
William Stafford Scott, Ellwood City, Pa.	Shenango
Alan B. Smith, Alva, Okla.	Cimarron
Robert S. Stewart, Indianapolis, Ind.	Indianapolis
John C. Walker, Pasadena, Calif.	Los Angeles
Harry Warner, Langdon, N. Dak.	Pembina
David B. White, Eugene, Ore.	Willamette

Elders	*Presbytery*	*Vocation*
J. R. Clements, Murrysville, Pa.	Westmoreland	Teacher
Herman C. Forgy, Mount Ayr, Iowa	College Springs	Retired
Donald Graves, M.D., Frenchburg, Ky.	Ohio First	Physician
Ivan R. Hamel, Clawson, Mich.	Detroit	Engineer
Roy A. Hohberger, Salinas, Calif.	San Francisco	Chamber of Commerce
Marvin E. Holmgren, St. Cloud, Minn.	St. Cloud	College Professor
Walter McPherson, Chicago, Ill.	Chicago	Retired
Howard Nicholson, Syracuse, N. Y.	Cayuga-Syracuse	Engineer
Vernon Norris, Valencia, Pa.	Allegheny	Poultry Farmer
Earl Salveter, Webster Groves, Mo.	St. Louis	Engineer
Richard D. Sargent, E. Ryegate, Vt.	Vermont	Farmer
Mrs. Claude Smith, Woodland, Wash.	Columbia River	Housewife
E. Jas. Smith, Canonsburg, Pa.	Pittsburgh	Postal Clerk
J. M. Tinsley, D.D.S., Richmond, Va.	Southern Virginia	Dentist

Compilation

of Important Deliverances of the Former United Presbyterian Church N.A. and of the Presbyterian Church U.S.A.

AGRICULTURE

Soil conservation and religion are inseparable. As stewards of God's property it becomes our duty to take care of the soil and return to it as much as we take from it. A nation is only as rich as its land. Throughout the ages man has disputed the stewardship of the land, claiming its issue for personal and often selfish benefits. "The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof" still is the ancient precept. Parts of the old Biblical lands are among the countries that offer stark testimonials of soil erosion and land exploitation.

Here in America we have been blessed with a fertile soil. The productive yield of our soil has been the envy of the rest of the world, and we have had occasion times without number to make our expressions of gratitude to God for his goodness.

But too much has happened too soon to our fertile fields. Exploitation for personal gain has been permitted overlong. Each of us and the church of Christ most surely have a stake in erosion control and soil conservation and the proper use of land. "One hundred million acres of American land has been lost for production by soil erosion. Another one hundred million acres has been seriously damaged by land misuse." Today one hundred fifty million American people are dependent on four hundred sixty million acres of productive land for their substance. This is about three and one third acres per person. The proportion has been steadily decreasing. Whether we realize it or not, our future, and that of our children, is tied up with those three and one third acres. We may live in the city and think that it is no concern of ours, but it is. We pride ourselves on many matters in our America. In this matter we take no pride: we have been the greatest destroyers of natural resources of any people in history. We need no superior wisdom to see that the smokestack is forever dependent upon the strawstack.

And not only for the sake of our own nation, but for the sake of the people of the world, is it necessary for us to take interest and action in this matter. As long as people to the number of ten times the population of Chicago die annually through starvation and malnutrition, the obligation to conserve and share our natural resources must challenge us.

Is the church not vitally interested in a problem that affects all the people of the nation, and of the world? People who forget God and become intent on personal financial gain, by exploiting God's soil, are doing more than stealing a great natural resource. They are poor stewards of a great trust and are destroying the heritage of our nation. Shall the church sit idly by and take no part in so important a community and national problem?

It is because of a deep conviction of the urgency of this question, and because our sister denominations have pronouncements upon this important question, that your Committee respectfully calls the attention of the General Assembly to this matter once again. Moreover, we have been encouraged and urged to do so by the Department of the Town and Country Church in our Board of American Missions. So for the reasons above stated and implied, and for many others which might be added, if time permitted, we respectfully recommend that this 95th General Assembly urge upon our chuches and our

members this threefold responsibility in respect to our "good earth."

1. That we study the problems of agriculture and their bearing upon our national and world economy.

2. That we apply the basic doctrines of the Christian faith to the problems of our agricultural relations.

3. That we act, locally, denominationally, and interdenominationally as neighbors, citizens, and members of farm and civic organizations in behalf of an ever more nearly Christian agricultural policy and program for America and for mankind.

—U.P., 1953

The goal of farmers throughout human history has been to overcome hunger and want through abundant production of food and fiber. In this task American agriculture has been prominently successful. The gifts of God, represented by fertile soil and favorable climate, coupled with the God-given skills and ingenuity of men in operating in a free society greatly influenced by our Protestant Christian heritage, have combined to bring us into an era of agricultural abundance. Today a progressively smaller fraction of our national population on farms is able to produce enough and to spare. Truly, we can say with the ancient writer, "The Lord our God hath brought us into a good land."

Surpluses

We call for the careful management and use of agricultural surpluses so as (1) to provide a prudent reserve of storable grains and fibers against days of uncontrollable production hazard and other national emergencies, and (2) to make maximum provision for overcoming human hunger and want.

This vast productive capacity presents America with certain opportunities and certain challenges. The first of these is the opportunity to emulate Joseph of old by setting up a prudent reserve of the storable grains and fibers against days of need. In a nation of growing population, already in excess of 160,000,000 people, careful estimates indicate that 1,000,000,000 bushels of grain (wheat, corn, and others) and 4,000,000 to 5,000,000 bales of cotton are by no means excessive amounts for such a provident stockpile. We believe that approximately such amounts in storage should be welcomed and no longer called surplus.

A. When stock on hand of storable commodities reaches a volume appreciably in excess of these figures we recommend the following lines of social action:

1. Programs designed to encourage increased consumption and use, including distribution through public and private relief channels at home and abroad to meet genuine human need, and development of secondary and alternate uses for these commodities. For example, the campaign of the dairy industry to encourage the use of milk and milk products, comparable with present-day promotion of alcoholic beverages, is already doing much to reduce surpluses of dairy products. Special arrangements for the disposal of surpluses in foreign countries through relief and mission agencies prepared to distribute them to the needy and destitute so that they do not inflict injury on the domestic economies of other countries.

2. Incentive programs designed to encourage and aid farmers to shift production to commodities for which there is greater demand and to transfer their efforts to other highly nutritive lines of production.

3. Conservation programs designed to supplement our stockpiles of commodities when needed by a further fertility reserve in the soil, which is our responsibility as God's stewards.

B. Perishable commodities present an additional set of problems. The conscience of mankind cries against the waste and spoilage which have sometimes accompanied abundant production of these foodstuffs. Programs for handling excessive productive capacity in these lines should take account of the nature of these commodities, which are generally nonstorable, highly nutritive, and readily consumable. These characteristics suggest that emphasis should be placed on programs designed to encourage and facilitate prompt distribution and consumption of these commodities. Among such programs we commend (*a*) expanded school lunch programs, (*b*) carefully administered do-

mestic food allotment programs, (c) overseas relief programs through governmental, private, and religious agencies.

C. Only when we are assured that all possible efforts have been expended to make maximum provision for overcoming human hunger and want can we, as Christians, sanction a program of production limitation. Even then, we would hope that the production control program be geared to a conservation program which will store fertility in the soil for the use of future years and future generations.

Farm Price Policies

We believe our churches should encourage such agricultural price policies as will (1) encourage production of food supplies to meet domestic and export needs, (2) promote economic, diversified family farm units, (3) encourage management practices consistent with the preservation and conservation of our natural resources, (4) tend to stabilize farm income at a level which is adequate for individual and family adjustment in our society, and (5) provide for adaptation of farming enterprises to a changing society in which demands for commodities do not stay constant.

Over 5,000, 000 farm families are basic social and economic units in our domestic society, functioning to provide needed food and fiber. Our very existence depends upon continued production by farmers of basic food necessities.

Without the help of adequate agricultural price policies, farmers face real obstacles in attempting to acquire sound economic goals because:

1. Farmers generally cannot sufficiently vary total production in response to market conditions. Regardless of prices received, farmers have tended to produce an abundance.

2. The more than 5,000,000 producing units in agriculture are primarily organized as family-sized farms. As such, these individual operators are in a weak economic bargaining position as opposed to the general situation in industry where output tends to be adjusted to market conditions so as to maintain prices. This is so because farmers generally cannot vary total production in response to market conditions; the chief means they have of increasing income in response to poor market conditions, without the help of adequate agricultural price policies, is to increase unit production—thus further depressing the market. Furthermore, prices received by farmers for farm products do not keep up with prices paid by farmers for industrial goods, and often prices received by farmers descend more rapidly than prices he must pay, because what he buys is price-supported in a variety of ways: "inventory adjustments," minimum wage laws, tariffs, "fair trade" price laws, Government subsidies for manufacturers, etc.

3. The farmer faces risks and uncertainties over which he does not have complete control because of insects, crop and livestock diseases, and the vagaries of weather.

Conservation and Development of Natural Resources

Great natural resources have been entrusted to our nation by Almighty God. We call upon the Christian conscience to recognize that our stewardship of the earth and water involves both a land use program which recognizes the interdependence of soil, water, and man and the development of a responsible public policy which will resist the exploitation of land, water, and other natural resources including forests for selfish purposes and maintain intelligent conservation for the sustenance of all living creatures through future generations.

Farm and nonfarm groups are recognizing the importance of conserving and developing them, but conflicting pressures of self-interested groups and conflicting approaches within bureaus of Government have deterred the adoption of adequate programs and public policies. Therefore, we direct the Department of Social Education and Action to take responsibility for earnest study of the issues involved.

Adequate water supplies in the United States and other countries over the world are indispensable to the maintenance of life and agricultural and industrial progress. Increasing demands upon currently available water supplies by expanded industry, growing concentrations of population in urban areas, and large-scale

commercial agriculture have made conservation efforts essential to economic survival. Great mineral and petroleum deposits have been enormously depleted by military and defense production. Only coordinated programs can conserve the earth and restore its balance. If our nation is to remain vigorous and productive, all Christians must learn the meaning of stewardship and wise use of God's creation.

We recommend that in water and soil conservation priority be placed on the effort to conserve both water and soil by stopping the rain where it falls, which plan is demonstrated by the system known as upstream agricultural flood control and carried on by the U.S. Department of Agriculture Soil Conservation Service particularly in the areas of the country made up largely of tillable hill lands and fertile valleys.

—*U.S.A., 1954*

Believing that God has made the world and has set man therein with ability to treasure or plunder its abundant wealth of resources; and that allegiance to our Redeemer Christ means, in part, the dedication of our entrusted gifts of nature for the common good,

The 168th General Assembly

Commends our Federal Government, research centers, and participating industries for recognizing that we stand on the threshold of a tremendous development in the production and use of nuclear energy for daily living; and urges that forceful and imaginative action be taken to develop fully this source of energy to undergird our expanding economy;

Urges state and Federal Government agencies and legislators to carry out public policies that will give state and national forests and grasslands protection from exploitation and selfish waste; that will initiate or continue progress against air and water pollution;

Enjoins the churches to observe Rural Life Sunday each May by alerting their members to Christian concern for farm problems and by encouraging studies that will create awareness of the vast yet limited resources of water, soil, minerals, timber, and wildlife;

Encourages farmers and ranchers to cooperate with the Soil Conservation Service of the Department of Agriculture in its land capability inventory program, which provides a thorough acre-by-acre examination of the land and valuable data about the most appropriate use of cropland, forest land, grassland, and wildlife reservations;

Urges that Christian conscience be brought to bear on the wasteful use of water, and on the development of public policy to utilize our water resources and hydroelectric potential;

Commends church and civic groups and individuals for their prompt and generous aid to flood and disaster victims, and for the continued interest in rehabilitation in disaster areas.

—*U.S.A., 1956*

(Continued from page 4)

Third, they provide a lever by which the church can make its witness in the secular world.

And in the fourth place, they support ministers and laymen who are taking action upstream against the popular and prevailing climate of opinion in their communities. That is, it is extremely valuable to a minister or his laymen, when in good conscience they must take a position or pursue a course of action that is unpopular, to be able to point to the stand that the General Assembly of their church has already stated in support of their own position. It would seem clear that every church session has a responsibility, not only to make these deliverances known, but also to determine their unique meaning and relevance in the particular situation in which the church meets the world.—*The SEA Staff.*

THERE are four reasons why alcoholic beverages merit new concern. First, the strength of the social pressures toward drinking is increasing. Second, scientific studies have made available new tools for understanding the problem. Third, only an approach which does not oversimplify the nature of the problem can have a chance of success. Fourth, the accelerated tempo of the machine exacts an increasing toll of deaths and injuries through the use of alcoholic beverages.

Aid to Victims of Alcohol

We begin with pastoral and social concern for alcoholics and excessive drinkers and for their families. Alcoholics, as well as their families, need the full ministry of the church. We recognize that once drinking has passed a certain point, alcoholism is a disease; that is, the drinking cannot be stopped by a mere resolution on the part of the drinker. He needs treatment, not punishment; understanding, not condemnation.

Under no conditions will pastors permit drinking behavior to produce a withdrawal of pastoral concern for drinkers. We shall encourage the establishment of clinics and other facilities, when competently conducted, for the diagnosis, referral, and treatment of alcoholics. We shall give all possible aid to those organizations that work on a religious basis for the cure and rehabilitation of alcoholics.

While recognizing the dual origin of alcoholism and excessive drinking in both personal instability and social pressures, and accepting alcoholism as a disease which requires treatment, we reassert our conviction that the ethical aspects of the use of alcoholic beverages are underlined by our concern on behalf of the victims of alcohol.

Alcohol Education in the Church

Alcohol education in the church must be persistent and many-sided, reaching adults no less than children and youth, accurate in its facts, uncompromising in its claims, intelligently graded and imaginatively presented. It should proceed despite those who deny there is an alcohol problem or those who believe the problem can be solved by a single act of legislation.

The aim of alcohol education is conviction and decision based on accurate knowledge. Dissemination of facts is not enough, but the facts presented must be both accurate and relevant. The following are our guiding principles of action:

1. The program shall be conceived in long-range terms, not merely as a special promotion for a limited period. At the same time, it will utilize such imaginative and dramatic devices as will explain and convince about the seriousness of alcohol as a social problem.

2. The program will look to the results of scientific study for accurate knowledge of facts, but it will not claim falsely the support of science for any action program.

3. While the program will lead toward commitment and conviction from the point of view of Christian ethical standards, it will clarify and explain the nature and strength of the social pressures toward drinking as well as help to create affirmative ways of conduct before which the pressures shall be powerless. The method is to win understanding, not to marshal arguments.

4. While alcohol education will be related to many activities within the church, it must also be an object of special concern and program.

Alcohol Education for the Public

While the chief educational task of the church is with its own constituency, we also feel a Christian social responsibility for the guidance of the general public. We declare the following as our principles of action:

1. To encourage relevant public agencies to include in their programs scientifically accurate information about alcoholic beverages. This means especially the public schools, but also public health departments, liquor control boards, and other agencies.

2. While making clear our ultimate position in relation to alcoholic beverages,

we will co-operate on aspects of alcohol education of the public with other groups, public and private, whether they share our ultimate convictions or not, provided the particular program deals with some real problem of alcohol and provided our ultimate convictions are not compromised through the process of co-operation. Specifically, we will co-operate:

a. With temperance groups—when they are not so exclusively preoccupied with immediate national prohibition as to impede action on educational and social control programs aimed at partial aspects of the problem.

b. With alcoholism and education groups—provided they take no official stand that might compromise our convictions concerning drinking by nonalcoholics or the trade in alcoholic beverages.

c. With scientific groups—provided their methods are consistent with the canons of science as applied to alcohol research, and provided the conclusions drawn from their studies are consistent with what the studies themselves have disclosed.

d. With public-spirited groups—within or outside the churches—who are concerned with any significant aspect of the alcohol problem, provided such co-operation does not compromise the ultimate position and witness of the church.

Social Control of Alcoholic Beverages

We have affirmed our belief in a vigorous program of continuing education, based on science, illuminated and motivated by Christian ethics leading toward voluntary abstinence and social concern. We affirm our belief in a program leading toward eventual elimination of the production and use of alcoholic beverages through public action in community, state, and nation. We believe that education and public action go hand in hand; that the second will work finally only as it is based on the first, and that attention must be given to the second if there is to be any chance of achieving the first.

It seems apparent that any program attempting to eliminate the production and use of alcoholic beverages by legislation on a national scale would be unsuccessful unless supported by an overwhelming majority of the people. The advocacy of immediate national prohibition would seem at this time an unwise strategy in moving toward social control of alcoholic beverages. Preoccupation with national prohibition as an immediate objective may run the grave danger of aiding liquor to become even more deeply entrenched in American life.

If there is real progress in the care and treatment of alcoholics, in research on alcohol problems and in alcohol education, we believe that it will be increasingly possible for a better informed and voluntarily convinced public to institute and support more effective and stringent control measures over the alcoholic beverage trade.

We believe there are certain measures that can be initiated now or in the near future which can reduce some of the evil effects of alcohol, and which can aid the public in understanding the nature of the alcohol problem. These are not final steps. But if they are not earnestly sought and achieved, there will be slight chance of securing better social control.

1. Revision of the alcoholic beverage tax structure. This should be in the direction of encouraging the dilution of proof spirits and fortified wines, through a tax program providing adequate incentive to distributors for such reduction.

2. Enforcement of laws regarding issuance of liquor licenses and regulations of hours of sale. This should be in the direction of strictly regulating and decreasing the hours when alcoholic beverages may be sold by package and for consumption on the premises.

3. Prevention of sales to minors. This would be chiefly a matter of encouraging the enforcement of existing laws, by a type of personnel concerned with the total welfare of young people.

4. Social use of public revenue from the sale of alcohol. The fact that public revenue from the sale of alcoholic beverages is used for general social purposes misleads the public as to the antisocial nature of the traffic itself. As long as alcoholic beverages are sold, we believe that revenues derived from the trade should be used solely for alcohol education, for the rehabilitation of alcoholics, and for the relief of their families.

5. Regulation of advertising of alcoholic beverages. We deplore the effect that the advertising of alcoholic beverages is destined to have, especially upon the mind of youth, through its unwarranted and false claims, which go beyond public presentation of brand names, common to all advertising, and aim to invest the use of alcohol with prestige and social desirability. This calls for regulatory practices which, if not voluntarily put into effect by advertising agents, should be imposed by appropriate organs of Government.

6. Local or state elimination of traffic in alcoholic beverages. This means what is commonly known as local option, eliminating the trade or traffic in neighborhoods, communities, or states where at least a majority of the citizens agree that such action shall be taken.

7. Indirect control of alcohol consumption through (*a*) the elimination of social evils such as poor housing, inadequate recreational facilities, and broken homes; (*b*) a realization of the meaning of life which the church should inspire through an effective program of evangelism.

Conclusion

The use of alcohol as a beverage is nearly as old as human history. It is also true that beverage alcohol in concentrated form has been available for only three or four centuries, and that the social problem of alcohol in its present acute form has existed only since that time.

Beverage alcohol is a serious social problem, and cannot be ignored. It is also a complex problem and cannot be solved at once. As Christians we intend to act taking those specific steps which we believe will lead us most surely toward our goals of voluntary abstinence and elimination of the traffic.

—U.S.A., 1946

We reaffirm the principles of voluntary abstinence from the use of alcoholic beverages. We call upon our churches to undertake programs of alcohol education in which this principle is clearly set forth.

We call upon our ministers and churches to be concerned intelligently and sympathetically with the problem of alcoholism and to support efforts for the aiding and rehabilitating of alcohol's victims and their families. We encourage cooperation with Alcoholics Anonymous.

We call for more effective and stringent control measures over the alcoholic beverage trade. We call for further regulation and restriction of alcoholic beverage advertising.

We encourage our churches to participate in the work of state and national temperance organizations when the purposes and programs of these organizations are in harmony with the goals of our church in relation to the alcohol problem. We would ask our churches to withhold endorsement of such temperance groups as do not support our concern for alcoholics, or in other ways exhibit an unrealistic or partial view of the alcohol problem. We express our confidence in the Yale Center of Alcohol Studies as a dependable source of information about many of the problems related to the use of alcoholic beverages, and commend its studies and publications to our churches and ministers.

—U.S.A., 1953

We reaffirm the position of the United Presbyterian Church of North America in its opposition to the manufacture, distribution, sale, and consumption of all alcoholic beverages, including beer and wine.

Beverage alcohol is a major threat to personality and Christian character, penetrating and undermining every area of life.

The religious significance of this problem is rooted in our conviction that God has entrusted man with life and property. Any use of these which obstructs right relations between man and God, and man and his fellows, is sin; and the result of personal sin is social evil.

We stand for total abstinence for the following reasons:

1. Alcohol is an intoxicating, habit-forming, narcotic drug destructive to the Christian personality.

2. Abstinence contributes to the Christian use of talents, time, and possessions. Scientific research has established the fact

that even a small amount of alcohol in the human body impairs judgment, lessens self-control, and retards mental and physical reactions.

3. Abstinence is an expression of moral responsibility in these days when the alcohol problem is becoming more acute with the intensified pace and pressure of modern living, and the increasing effect of one man's irresponsible decision upon the lives of others.

4. Abstinence prevents alcoholism. Everyone who drinks, even moderately, faces the dangerous fact that today one out of every nine who begins to drink becomes a problem drinker or alcoholic. Since all efforts to define the alcoholic type of personality have failed, every drinker is a potential compulsive drinker.

5. Abstinence is a worthy goal. We affirm the New Testament principle embodied in the Word, "It is good neither to eat flesh, nor to drink wine, nor any thing whereby thy brother stumbleth, or is offended, or is made weak." And again, "All things are lawful for me, but all things are not expedient." The Christian, according to the clear teaching of Scripture, should refrain from anything that might cause his brother to stumble.

We make the following recommendations:

Personal Christian Living

1. We exhort every Christian to consider the relevance of total abstinence to his full commitment to Christ and to his Christian witness.

2. We urge Christian parents by instruction and example to guard their children from the perils of alcohol.

Effective Temperance Education

3. We call upon all pastors, teachers, youth sponsors, and other leaders to take steps to provide for an adequate program of alcohol education for each age level in the church.

4. We recommend that every congregation observe total abstinence Commitment Day in accordance with the denominational emphases, and that every pastor preach courageously and positively on the liquor problem as it is related to Christian commitment.

Social Control of Beverage Alcohol

5. We call upon individuals and congregations to protest liquor advertising. We deplore the invasion of the sanctity of the home by the advertising of alcohol on radio and television, and urge legislation to eliminate it.

6. We urge individuals and congregations to oppose consistently every attempt to weaken our present laws for liquor control, and to support legislation to strengthen control of the liquor traffic.

Help for Those in Trouble

7. We urge the church to be concerned for those in trouble due to alcohol, and encourage pastors to become qualified to help in this field.

Co-operative Community Action

8. We encourage co-operation with and the support of effective agencies and programs for alcohol education, the study of alcoholism, and the rehabilitation of alcoholics. However, we reject the assumption on the part of many engaged in this work that alcoholism is only a physical and mental disease.

In this matter which affects the individual, the home, the church, the community, and the state, we urge the members of the United Presbyterian Church to assume their individual responsibility by personal example and constant endeavor to combat this evil.

—U.P., 1957

CHURCH AND STATE

We reaffirm the principle of separation of church and state as provided in the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. We are anxious that this independence be maintained. We urge all pastors to teach and preach freely and forthrightly the truths of the Reformed faith as they bear on this matter.

We urge the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, and the Congress to maintain the principle of separation of church and state by scrupulously avoiding any official relations with the Vatican. We recommend that the Stated Clerk inform the above parties of the General Assembly's action.

We are alarmed at the prevalence of religious persecution and discrimination in all parts of the world. We urge all agencies of church and state to light up these dark areas of human failure with the searchlight of publicity.

We must minister to the victims of such persecution with creative Christian love and sympathetic understanding. Our generosity to those deprived of religious liberty must be coupled with righteous indignation against those responsible for its loss. All freedoms are basically dependent upon religious freedom. All human relationships that produce a common good are rooted in the soil of religious freedom.

We call upon the World Council of Churches, the United Nations, and our Department of State to make vigorous protest against every infringement of religious liberty throughout the world.

—U.S.A., 1950

CITIZENSHIP

Christian citizens everywhere should be concerned with their responsibility for the preservation of our democracy through the election of representatives to Government, Federal, state, and local, of high integrity and right purpose. Therefore, they should study the actions of each Congress and know whether their own representatives have cast their votes for law based upon Christian principles.

We therefore request the Division of Social Education and Action to provide for the church voting records of all members of Congress upon legislation in which we as Christians have expressed our concern, and direct pastors and officers of Social Education and Action to make these records a matter of study in individual churches prior to the November elections. Likewise, we urge local church groups to interview prospective candidates as to their intentions regarding legislation indicated in these pronouncements and that the findings of these interviews be made known to local church members.

—U.S.A., 1948

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church has through the years expressed its judgment on social issues involving Christian principles. This judgment has been communicated immediately to Congress on issues that were being given attention by the legislators during the meeting of the General Assembly. Throughout the year, the position taken by the General Assembly on important questions has been communicated to the President, the Congress, and the committees of Congress by the Division of Social Education and Action of the Board of Christian Education, thus assuring that the witness would be borne at the time and the place of greatest usefulness. In a time when so many voices of self-interest are so persistently represented, it is imperative that this witness of the General Assembly be borne, calling the nation to fulfill its duty to God and man.

We wish again to make clear our conviction that the Christian church must not become partisan in expressing its political concerns. As Christ's Kingdom is not to be identified with any political

party or movement because it is above them all, so must it be with the Christian church: It dare not adjust itself to contemporary partisanships. By God-given right, the church has an independent standing ground and a message of its own with which to challenge every part of our social structure and to offer it the only hope there is.

—U.S.A., 1950

We earnestly call upon Christian laymen

1. To become active in the political life of their communities from the precinct level upward.
2. To nominate and vote for courageous, qualified, and high-principled citizens who will work for the good of all the people.
3. To study the social, economic, and political issues which give rise to political parties, and to take part in drafting constructive party platforms.
4. To refrain from spreading unfounded and malicious rumors and repeating campaign slogans that tend to vilify candidates and obscure the vital issues.
5. To study and discuss the voting records of Senators and Representatives in the 82d Congress as prepared and made available by the Department of Social Education and Action.

—U.S.A., 1952

In the area of Christian citizenship, the basic problem is that of the relation between the church and the state. The principle of "separation of church and state" implies that no Christian communion should seek privilege or power denied to others. On the other hand, this principle does not mean that churches should keep silent on, or be unconcerned about, political issues. If the purpose of "politics" is to promote the good of the community and the nation, then churches and Christians should seek to be an influence in political life.

Churches should act as the conscience of the community at all levels—local, state, national, and world. Denominations and local congregations should speak out on the problems of justice and freedom, equality and brotherhood.

It must be said that there is no single straight line running directly from the gospel to a Christian position on many of the complicated issues of our day. Of only a few political and social issues can it be said that there is clearly but one Christian position. On many other matters divergent Christian views are possible. On all questions of social importance it is necessary to relate faith to fact.

In the Presbyterian Church all judicatories and local congregations have the right and the duty to study and discuss social issues that may be called "controversial." They have the further right, and, particularly in the case of the General Assembly, the duty to arrive at group decisions about Christian positions in regard to these issues. They have the right and duty to communicate these decisions to appropriate bodies when such decisions will help them carry out their functions in a free nation.

The churches, though not prescribing how their members should vote, should urge them to vote intelligently, taking ethical questions into consideration. Churches should help to provide useful nonpartisan information for voters.

Church members should be encouraged to look upon service within a particular political party as an effective method for Christians to witness and work for good government. Frequently they should be encouraged to ask themselves such questions as: "Can I as a Christian vote a straight Republican ticket? Can I vote a straight Democratic ticket?"

The answer can never be an unequivocal "yes" or "no." Christians can never give uncritical support to everything a party stands for or to every one of its candidates. On the other hand, they cannot avoid party participation lest they make their faith examine party principles and practices. At all times, political activity on the part of Christians should be punctuated by prayers to God for forgiveness.

Christians should be warned that the greatest danger in politics is idolatry, when we let party loyalties play a larger role in our attitudes and decisions than our loyalty to the living God.

—U.S.A., 1955

Believing that our churches have an important role to play in their communities by joining forces with other churches and agencies in meeting human needs;

Acknowledging that churches often fail to face realistically community changes which require new understandings and new approaches and that churches all too frequently isolate themselves from their communities by their own church-centered programs which tend to blind their members to the needs of their neighborhoods and the wider concerns of city, state, and nation;

Believing that many, if not most, of the great social issues of the day are reflected in our communities, that here every Christian citizen, as well as the churches themselves, can join in the world-wide struggle for justice, equality, and freedom,

The 168th General Assembly

Encourages the Department of Social Education and Action to develop study and action materials related to the role of the churches in community life; and

Urges local congregations to give strong leadership and support to their community councils of churches, and in communities where such councils do not exist, to take steps to bring Protestant communions together in order that all Christians in all communities may have organized channels through which to share their concern.

—U.S.A., 1956

COMMUNISM

THE General Assembly affirms its deepest conviction that communism is the greatest international threat to human freedom. We believe that communism carries within it the seeds of its own destruction. Despite its inherent contradictions, communism must be challenged and exposed as a bankrupt, secular philosophy.

In our anxiety to combat the threat of communism, we exhort our people to withstand the temptation to bypass "due process of law" and our traditional Constitutional safeguards in the effort to deal with problems and persons whose loyalty is under question. These Constitutional safeguards were never more clearly defined than at the point of continued separation of the three branches of our Government, namely, legislative, executive, judicial. The violation of any division's private files could result only in eventual complete elimination of these Constitutional safeguards.

—U.S.A., 1954

CONSCRIPTION

WHILE we recognize the necessity for military conscription in time of national emergency, we reaffirm the historic position of our church in opposition to peacetime conscription and universal military training. We believe that the draft should be extended only as "the national emergency" warrants, and then for not more than two years at a time.

—U.S.A., 1955

DEFENSE AND DISARMAMENT

THE part which the threat of atomic warfare plays in reminding man that he is not self-sufficient has already been noted in this report. The fact that this threat has not lessened the race among the nations to prepare for war, but rather has increased it, should be of major concern to all Christians.

While Christians do not agree upon the attitude which Christian citizens should have toward military participation when declared and actual war is upon us, there can be no question but that the Christian should participate in and encourage every effort made in peacetime to avoid and to abolish war. Such signal examples of conscience in this regard among our lawmakers as the McMahon Resolution of last fall, calling for world disarmament, should receive the vocal and enthusiastic support of Christian churchmen and churchwomen. The United Nations organization should be studied and understood in all our churches and supported in every way open to the Christian citizen. The constructive programs for expressing our concern for the well-being and advancement of other nations and peoples, much as the Point Four Program should be familiar to all Christians, young and old, and should be continually urged upon our national leaders as equally or more important for world peace than the gigantic and crushing program of military preparedness.

We call upon the church to reject the attitudes of fear and hysteria which breed hatred and suspicion of other peoples and which assume the inevitability of recurring wars. We continue to voice our opposition to the principle of permanent peacetime military conscription under any guise. Since the real struggle in the world today is the struggle between ideas and faiths rather than a struggle between physical forces, we urge our people to put their best energies into the publishing of the good news of Jesus Christ as the only sure guarantee of victory.

—U.P., 1952

The making an armed camp out of our world continues, and with leaden hearts we acknowledge the failure of our generation to walk in the steps of the Prince of Peace. The impasse in the East remains and the ever-growing list of the casualties reminds us daily of the cost in the flower of our youth for this police action. We confess our failures to act in peaceable ways and make acknowledgment once again of the sorry record of the age in which we live. We beseech the forgiveness of God for our grievous failures in this respect.

Hence once again we call upon our church to rethink the problems of war and peace in the light of the words and works and character of the Prince of Peace. Basic to the whole problem is the nature of man and the meaning of the human personality. While deploring war and all its terrible results, we acknowledge that until we have set our sights on ends which are in keeping with the inherent truth of our Christian faith, we do little to bring an end to war and to achieve peace. All our efforts and organizations designed to promote the freedoms and keep the peace, always fall short of their ideal when men think in terms of selfishness, greed, jealousies, and hate. It is only when they begin to love their neighbors as they do themselves that hope for peace arises.

It is plain therefore what part the church needs to take. We know that it is when Christ dwells in the heart that evil is crowded out.

We call upon our church therefore to be more faithful in our Christian living. We must practice in every relation of life the principles of peaceful co-operation which are the opposite of strife, disharmony, and war. The spirit which makes war is the same spirit which breaks up the home, foments disorder and strife in industrial relations, and sets man against his brother for inconsequential and blameless conditions of race and social standing. Let us be more faithful in the promulgation of

the gospel at home, abroad, in every relationship that the time may come and not distantly when men will know and acknowledge Jesus Christ and we may have a sound basis for the hope of peace.

—U.P., 1953

We hold that although we are continuing a strong defense program, we must go far beyond the military approach in terminating the "cold war." We call upon our Government to explore every possible approach toward resolving East-West tensions that is reasonable and right and in keeping with our Christian ideals and democratic traditions.

We endorse the President's five-point program for peace as stated in his speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors in Washington on April 16, 1953. We support his plan to use a portion of military savings in a vast program of development around the world in underdeveloped regions.

While the Presbyterian Church recognizes the need of the nation for military conscription in time of national emergency we reaffirm our historic opposition to Universal Military Training as a permanent peacetime program.

We lay upon the conscience of our churches, both on the local and presbytery level, the support of the men and women of the Armed Forces, not only by hospitality to those near at hand, but with prayer and personal service to those at a distance. Thus they may clearly know that wherever they may be, they are never separated from the family of Christ.

—U.S.A., 1953

We ask the prayers and support of our churches for the men and women in the Armed Forces, and the implementing of this concern by friendship and welcome to homes and churches near camps and defense.

We would affirm our confidence that the ultimate security for men and nations lies not in force but in faith and not in man's strength but in God's righteousness and love. We would remind our church and our nation of the words of the *Letter* of the General Council: "That we have the obligation to make our nation as secure as possible no one can dispute. But there is no absolute security in human affairs; nor is security the ultimate human obligation. A still greater obligation, as well as a more strategic procedure, is to make sure that what we mean by security, and the methods we employ to achieve it, are in accordance with the will of God."

—U.S.A., 1954

Believing that a just and durable peace requires the reduction of all types of weapons concurrently, with effective means of inspection and control,

The 168th General Assembly

Urges our Government to continue to initiate negotiations for the elimination of weapons of mass destruction, pursuing such negotiations vigorously within the collective security concepts of the United Nations, when possible, and to continue to make unremitting efforts to find a solution to the present deadlock over methods of disarmament;

Commends our Government for its support of the Atomic Radiation Committee of the United Nations in its study of the effects on human beings of radiation resulting from atomic experiments;

Urges the United Nations, through its appropriate channels, to investigate the alleged disruption and insecurities to the native peoples of the Pacific area caused by the testing of atomic and hydrogen weapons;

Calls upon Christians to be willing to accept reasonable mutual risks which may be involved in such new and untried proposals as aerial inspection.

—U.S.A., 1956

GAMBLING

THE General Assembly has consistently warned against the sinfulness of gambling, and Christians should recognize the fallacy of the "something-for-nothing" appeal.

The recent findings of the Senate Crime Investigation Committee have confronted us with the existence and pervasive influence of powerful gambling syndicates, which direct the gambling interests of our nation and involve law enforcement officers and business interests.

It is our conviction that "big time" syndicate-controlled gambling grows out of "small time" gambling. By participating in games of chance and wagers at bridge and golf games the Christian conscience may be dulled and powers of reason laid aside.

Therefore—

1. We call on all church members to avoid taking part in any kind of gambling, even for charitable causes.
2. We urge church members to acquaint themselves with local and state laws regulating gambling practices.
3. We oppose all efforts to legalize gambling, and call upon sessions and presbyteries to do likewise, since it is contrary to Christian principles to seek public gain by exploiting human weakness.
4. We commend those citizens who have organized to bring about the elimination of corruption born of the alignment of gamblers and public officials.

—U.S.A., 1952

We urge churches and church members to do all they can, by Christian means, to abolish commercialized and syndicated gambling.

We urge efforts, legislative and otherwise, to extend the ban on interstate sale and transportation of all gambling devices, even the so-called mild forms.

We urge cities and states to repeal pari-mutuel laws which cast an aura of respectability over professional gambling.

We deplore the partnership in which certain cities and states, urged by a need for tax revenue, license gambling devices as "amusement games."

We would brand lotteries and bingo games in churches as particularly reprehensible, even though justified by law.

Gambling cannot be justified, even in a "good" cause.

—U.S.A., 1954

HOUSING

A GREAT responsibility of the church is for the maintenance of Christian family life. Therefore, housing shortages, overcrowded slum conditions, dilapidated dwellings, which create group tensions, the degradation of persons, and the deterioration of family life, demand Christian concern.

We commend churches and churchmen who are working for adequate housing programs in their communities.

We exhort churches and presbyteries presently unconcerned or inactive in community development to face the complex problems of urban decay and to take leadership in community planning and redevelopment.

Church bodies are called upon to join with civic, business, and labor groups in greater support of voluntary housing associations and local, state, and Federal legislative measures to provide adequate housing for all.

We urge churches, church-related institutions, and individual members of the churches to study all properties they may hold title to, in the light of recognized standards for decent family and community life. The church, as a property owner, has a basic responsibility to exercise a Christian conscience.

Church members have a responsibility for supporting measures that will improve the quality of community life and for re-

sisting any measure that will lower housing standards. Adequate plans for community services and facilities, including churches, must be developed simultaneously with housing in construction and rehabilitation.

Churches must assume the responsibility of influencing their constituents who are involved in building, financing, selling, and renting housing to facilitate "open occupancy" and sound community planning measures to provide well-designed, well-constructed, livable houses on a nonsegregated basis for all family groups.

Since there is still a failure on the part of private housing interests to build and finance decent, desirably located houses for the growing number of nonwhite families who are willing and able to pay for their homes, we urge private enterprise to join in providing housing facilities open to minorities of all income groups.

We further propose a serious study by churches and presbyteries of migrant housing needs, and we urge action to improve existing conditions for these and all transient groups.

—U.S.A., 1954

IMMIGRATION

We call for the amendment of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act so as to correct the highly objectionable features of this legislation.

1. We agree with the statement of the President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization, "We cannot be true to the democratic faith of our own Declaration of Independence in the equality of all men, and at the same time pass immigration laws which discriminate against people because of national origin, race, color, or creed."

2. The United States, through this existing law, is the only major English-speaking country in the world which has written such discrimination into its immigration laws.

3. The National Origin Quota System of 1924, based on the 1920 census, does not deal realistically or fairly with an America which gained 43 per cent in population from 1920 to 1950. We call for revision of this existing immigration act to provide for use of the 1950 census as a basis for immigration quotas. This would allow for the admission of 251,182 persons. We urge pooling of unused annual quotas on a year-to-year basis without limiting references to ethnic groupings. Countries with most acute population surpluses should receive special consideration. To do so is to affirm in legislation the Christian worth of every human being.

4. We urge passage of amendments to end discrimination against persons of Asian ancestry or half-ancestry now contained in the McCarran-Walter Act. This would remove limitation upon the citizenship of children whose fathers are alien. For example: a foreign-born person of one half Oriental ancestry must enter the United States as a charge against the Oriental country's quota from which his parent has come regardless of where he has his present citizenship.

We urge that these Christian concerns of Presbyterians be communicated to appropriate committees of the Congress.

—U.S.A., 1954

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

Broadly speaking, social experience, insight into human nature, and the character of our industrialized society point to the social desirability of labor unions. But recognition of this fact concerns not only those directly involved as members of labor unions but also those not organized and the nation as a whole. In the light of this survey of the labor movement, we make the following observations:

1. We believe the Christian church must confront its members who are employees

with their obligation to consider their relationship to a labor union in the light of the Christian principle of social responsibility. We believe industrial relations generally stand a stronger possibility of improvement when management and labor are organized. The good that follows upon such organization works for the benefit of those who assume neither the obligations nor the responsibilities of union membership, which gives the labor movement social value and ethical validity.

2. The closed shop is one method or instrument, among many, representing a stage of development in collective bargaining. When used, it should be adopted voluntarily by an industry. There are situations where the closed shop makes for justice and brotherhood in industrial relations, and there are other situations where it stands in the way of good relations.

The individual Christian is called upon to approach the issue of the closed shop neither with indiscriminating emotion nor with a preconceived theory. We believe that there is nothing in Christian faith and principle that either supports or denies the closed shop, as such, on ethical grounds. There is no ready-made answer, no short cut to what is right and best. The issue needs to be met in the light of the distinctive characteristics of the industry under consideration and the level reached in the development of its industrial relations.

3. The church as an institution is an employer of labor and as such is involved in employer-employee relationships, as are philanthropic and humanitarian organizations, such as social welfare agencies, hospitals, orphanages, etc. It is, therefore, incumbent upon the church and its agencies, together with other nonprofit organizations, to bring the most enlightened insights and practices to bear upon its relationships with employees. There may well be cases where the organization of these employees and collective bargaining with them are unnecessary and ineffectual; on the other hand, there is no ground for taking a special position in the fact that the church and these other organizations are nonprofit-making, or that much of their personnel is professional. Organization of these employees and collective bargaining for them would not be inappropriate. Here, again, sound policy will not come out of some a priori theory but out of the purpose to achieve employer-employee relationships based upon Christian principles.

—U.S.A., 1944

We reaffirm the traditional position of the General Assembly in support of collective bargaining and of the obligation upon management and labor to use to the full methods of peaceful settlement, such as mediation, conciliation, and arbitration. In these, the co-operation of Government, Federal and state, can be of decisive help. We believe that these Governmental services should be extended and improved.

Likewise in a free society the right to strike is basic, but like every other right it must be subject to the requirements of public order and well-being. We reaffirm the right of workers to strike after all peaceful means of settlement have been sincerely sought. We believe that Christian people have an obligation to see that the right to strike is not so limited by legislation that it becomes meaningless and thereby that freedom itself is in jeopardy.

When an industrial dispute results in a work stoppage through a strike or lockout that endangers the national well-being, Government has the responsibility to demand that work be resumed. However, this must never be done without providing safeguards for the basic freedom of both labor and management and for the adjustment of the issues involved in terms of justice and fair play. If this demand be resisted, Government may invoke civil penalties.

A free society should place no arbitrary limitation upon its capacity to produce. The full influence of labor and management should be against cartels, tariff barriers, and shortsighted policies by labor or management that restrict the output of men and machines.

At the same time there exists an equal responsibility on the public toward the legitimate claims of both management

and labor, a responsibility that Christians should be particularly diligent in assuming.

1. The Christian should bring perspective and poise to the shifting and often emotionally charged industrial situation. The appearances of the moment need to be seen in the light of the past and of the future and, even more, in the light of principles that are eternal, in violation of which the good of yesterday may be undone and future progress retarded for generations.

2. The Christian should exercise care that serious personal inconvenience to himself caused by an industrial dispute does not dull his concern that justice be done toward both management and labor. He should not be content with settlements that fail to gain justice for the individuals concerned and for their families.

3. The Christian should take an inclusive view that is not only aware of wrongs to be righted but also of the progress that has entered into the fabric of industrial relations. The spirit of co-operation and understanding already existing between labor and management is manifest in some 50,000 existing contracts that provide for the orderly settlement of disputes from the factory to the industry-wide level.

4. The Christian often becomes aware of the crisis involved in a work stoppage without at the same time being capable of fairly judging the merits of the dispute because of ignorance of important factors. When a strike occurs, Christians should be as sensitive to the sins of omission as to the sins of commission on the part of both labor and management. Because of its refusal to take action on working conditions or wages management may be more responsible for a strike than the labor union that takes overt strike action. Before condemning either labor or management for the cause of a strike, Christians are morally obligated to investigate conditions and know the facts.

5. The Christian should ever seek the guidance of God that he may rise above group partisanship in giving his support to proposed solutions. Can the Christian church create a respect for persons so that men and women divided as employers and employees may differ deeply in their opinions and yet retain respect for each other's worth and integrity? This is possible where their approach is not primarily based upon the special interests of employers and employee but rather upon concern for that which is in accord with Christian principles.

—U.S.A., 1946

Gigantic organizations of productive property and enormous organizations of productive labor are apparently permanent features of our national economy. Democratic control, not the abolition of these institutions by public authority, holds the only hope of achieving social and economic stability. Our church entertains no illusions concerning the difficulty of implementing this conviction. It has no panacea to offer short of rebirth from above of all parties to industry, including the public of which we are a part, but we submit that the following steps, if taken, will bring us closer to the goal of industrial peace based on justice:

1. A strengthening of the techniques of collective bargaining:

a. By amending the National Labor Relations Act at such points as experience has indicated need amendment, especially at the point of restoring to employers the right to discuss freely with their employees all matters of common concern; and by defining unfair practices of unions as precisely as the unamended law defines those of employers.

b. By providing the National Labor Relations Board with sufficient funds to make its important services available currently to industry throughout the nation.

c. By leaving the questions of industry-wide collective bargaining in the hands of management and labor, whose knowledge qualifies them for sound collective bargaining.

d. By the adoption of procedures to resolve jurisdictional disputes without resort to strikes.

e. By an employer's refraining from agreements with other employers, affecting workers who are not his own employees, and the abolition of the corresponding secondary boycott and "hot cargo" practices by organized workers.

f. By requiring all labor unions to follow the admirable policy of some to make

public statements of their finances on the same basis as those now required of corporations.

2. A frank recognition of the fact that monopoly power in the hands of either capital or labor corrupts men.

Power is a heady wine which makes men reel. We, therefore, favor the strengthening of legal prevention or control of monopolistic and semimonopolistic power whenever it is found in our land, in the hands of management no less than those of labor leaders, in the hands of labor leaders no less than in those of management. We know of no group that is virtuous enough to be trusted with the right to impose its will upon another group solely by reason of sheer force of its superior power.

The employer today is frequently not an individual in the old sense, but a company or a corporation. Today freedom of association is as crucial as freedom of the individual was in an earlier day. Man, henceforth, will seek security in community. The primary fact about society has always been interdependence. To be specific, the sooner we have in America strong unions which exercise democratic control over their members and are not constantly harassed and made to fight for their lives, the sooner can responsibility be confidently placed upon them and demanded of them.

3. The elimination of the discrimination that bars men and women from jobs and training for jobs, and merited promotion, solely on the basis of race or religion or national origin.

4. Finally, America's best answer to the alluring claim of communism, making our own system of politics and economics work.

This requires, among other measures, raising the national minimum wage level, extending the Social Security program, making adequate medical and hospital services available to all our people on just and democratic terms, equalizing educational opportunities for all children through Federal aid, if necessary; in short, by implementing Jesus' doctrine of property, given in reply to the anxious question of his contemporaries no less than of ours: "What shall we eat? or, What shall we drink? or, Wherewithal shall we be clothed?" "Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness," in production, and distribution, "and all these things shall be added unto you."

—U.S.A., 1947

We commend recent progress made by the application of the democratic processes of problem-solving between labor and management. We encourage the use of collective bargaining in localities and industries where social injustice, exploitation, or autocratic conditions still persist.

We observe with concern increasing unemployment and urge

1. Co-operative effort between management and labor to develop voluntary programs toward full and steady employment.

2. Development of a more adequate Federal unemployment insurance program which offers protection to all workers and their families who become victims of sudden shifts in economic conditions over which they have no individual control.

We call upon governmental, industrial, and labor organizations to recognize the responsibilities of Christian stewardship in the joint use of natural resources, time, and human energy.

We call attention to the present trend toward the increased importance of state legislation in labor and economic issues. Churches are asked to recognize the consequences of such state laws upon Christian human relations, and we urge congregations, presbyteries, and synods to give conscientious attention to state as well as Federal legislation.

—U.S.A., 1954

Foreign Aid

WE COMMEND and encourage the increase of such nongovernmental programs as the Church's World Mission, One Great Hour of Sharing, Church World Service, CARE, and CROP, for ministering to human needs in all parts of the world.

As for Government programs of foreign aid, we believe that they should not be trimmed down or withdrawn so long as they serve human needs. These programs should be (1) based on actual needs without regard to political pressures or military considerations; (2) developed in such a way as not to disrupt foreign economies; and (3) so administered that the aid serves the purpose for which it is intended.

We call upon our Government to continue its support, without diminution, of international programs designed to minister to human needs and to assist less developed lands—such as the UN International Children's Fund, the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance, and relief projects in Korea, the Middle East, and other areas of need. We reaffirm support of our Government's program of technical assistance and co-operation as being an appropriate and effective means of helping others to help themselves.

—U.S.A., 1955

Believing that a nation commonly called Christian can and should serve human needs not primarily on a basis of short-sighted self-interest, but in the larger context of human welfare;

Acknowledging that the foreign policy of all nations is developed in terms of their own self-interest, but believing that what ultimately serves the total good best serves the individual state;

Aware of the continuing need to stress economic aid rather than military assistance to underdeveloped areas and conscious of the fact that communist nations are using economic aid as an effective political weapon;

Believing that there is need for assurance of continued economic aid to underdeveloped regions;

Believing also that international exchange of students, farmers, and other vocational groups, including churchmen, is of first importance in building world community through mutual understanding,

The 168th General Assembly

Urges our Government (1) to give assurance of appropriation of funds for economic aid on a long-term basis, (2) to review and debate foreign aid proposals without acrimony and partisan maneuvering so that decisions will be made on the basis of human welfare, and (3) to make substantial increases in programs for the distribution of agricultural surpluses through agencies such as CARE, CROP, and Church World Service.

—U.S.A., 1956

International Trade

Recognizing that our failure to participate in the Organization for Trade Co-operation may be interpreted by other nations as a withdrawal from the general international trade policies our Government has been pursuing since 1947;

Being aware that OTC does not involve any new authority to reduce tariff, does not give any additional powers to the President, does not affect the authority of Congress to legislate, does not commit Congress to any future legislation, and allows the United States to retain a veto over any action which affects United States policy,

The 168th General Assembly

Urges our Congress to approve participation in OTC as a means for administering general trade agreements and for honoring the procedures which we have already agreed to in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade in order to promote and expand trade throughout the free world.

—U.S.A., 1956

Treaty-making Powers

Christians should be concerned about proposals for a basic change in the Constitution of the United States, the effect of which would hamper unduly the executive branch of the government in its direction of American foreign policy and would subordinate the President's role in the making of international agreements to that of Congress. Such a change would be a dangerous innovation and would weaken the position of the United States as a leader of the free world.

Any Constitutional change that might affect the capacity of the United States to act effectively and with reasonable promptness in its foreign policy should be a matter of grave concern to Americans.

—U.S.A., 1954

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

THE prevention and treatment of delinquency involves the whole community. In addition to the influence of churches and the home, other factors in prevention are good schools with curriculums adapted to the interests and capabilities of individual children, decent housing, economic security, health and welfare programs, child guidance clinics, adequate facilities for family recreation.

Juvenile and domestic relations courts are not only necessary agencies of law enforcement but are developing philosophy and skills and performing many functions which effectively contribute to the prevention of delinquency.

We commend the work being done by visiting and counseling teachers and parent education groups. We call attention to the need for well-trained personnel, adequately compensated, in all agencies dealing with youth.

We request the local church to evaluate and extend its ministry in this field, including careful consideration of the new social and economic factors affecting family life which seem to be contributing to an increase in delinquency.

—U.S.A., 1954

The wide concern about juvenile delinquency highlights the need for interpretation and action by the churches.

Great care should be taken in analyzing available data. Disorderly behavior on the part of children and youth is always a concern of the churches, but the statistics on juvenile delinquency are sometimes interpreted in such a way as to dramatize the problem unfairly.

—U.S.A., 1955

Reminders reach us every day that crime in America is on the increase. According to J. Edgar Hoover, reporting for the first half of 1954, felonies mounted to 1,136,140, which meant an advance of 8.5 per cent over the same period in 1953. Newspapers and magazines record the tragic situation week after week, and suggest that drastic measures are needed to stem the tide. We suspect that much of the trouble begins in the family and is continued in the public schools. These institutions deal with children during the formative years, and if they were to demand respect for authority, it is likely that children would develop into law-abiding citizens in later years. But the church also has a stake in the situation. Mr. Hoover has said repeatedly that Sunday school children do not become a problem to the police. It is the way of alerting the church to its evangelistic responsibility. Were we to round up children who got no religious training, bring them into Sunday school and church, and both instruct and inspire them, we could turn potential criminals into respectable people.

—U.P., 1955

MIGRATORY LABOR

We call for (1) individual Christians and local churches to show Christian concern as neighbors and employers of migrants in their vicinities; and (2) we urge state and Federal Governments to work toward adequate legislation to provide for the needs of these workers in a Christian manner.

Unfortunately, certain types of agriculture offer only intermittent employment for the seasonal worker. The development of mechanized agriculture has tended to foster the growth of peak and valley demands for labor in a succession of geographical areas.

Studies in 1947 estimated that the number of agricultural and industrial migrants range from 1,000,000 to 5,000,000 individuals. Migrant workers have always created wealth for the nation, the states, and the communities where they serve. In agriculture without their labor during peak seasons many of the crops would be lost, much of the investment and effort of farm producers and processors would be sacrificed, and, as a result, prices of perishable commodities would rise. Due to the seasonal type of employment, a considerable number of workers and their families habitually migrate with the seasons from state to state, thus becoming permanent armies of nomads. Unorganized to a large extent and frequently entrusting to labor contractors their negotiations with employers regarding wages and employment conditions, migrant workers are afforded little opportunity to become articulate or to bargain for themselves.

This means that persons created in the image of God suffer spiritually, physically, and socially. Christians as churchmen, employers, and legislators are called upon to show justice and love and mercy in their relationships toward migrants as well as toward all other men. We are recommending that:

1. Local churches take initiative in promoting ministries to migratory workers present in their vicinities, sharing their facilities with them, supporting and extending existing programs.

2. Employers cultivate a greater sense of Christian responsibility toward their migratory employees in respect to wages, adequate housing, sanitary facilities, and honest recruitment policies based on actual job opportunities which may be available.

3. State and Federal Governments bend every effort to write legislation that will extend to migratory workers and their families the protection and benefits enjoyed by industrial workers in relation to compensation, fair labor standards, social security, adequate health and educational services.

4. The Federal Government establish a national committee on migratory farm labor, to be appointed by, and responsible to, the President. This committee would have authority and responsibility, with adequate staff and budget, to co-ordinate and stimulate the various services of the Government in their programs and policies relating to migratory farm labor, including special study and investigation which will contribute to a wider understanding of the problems of migrants, and to recommend to the President from time to time changes in administration and legislation as may be required to facilitate development of sound labor policies.

5. A similar committee should be established in the states where large numbers of migrants are employed in agricultural labor.

6. The Department of Social Education and Action continue to make a careful study of all plans of migratory labor.

—U.S.A., 1954

NARCOTICS

THE General Assembly in other years has reminded the churches of the evils related to the illicit sale and use of narcotics. It has emphasized the contagion of corruption in our political life which springs from the drug traffic, and the devastating effect on the life and morals of the youth in many American communities. The problem continues to be grave, and in many places is even more severe than in former years.

We call upon our churches and church members to support local, state, and national programs, legislative and educational, designed to alleviate the narcotic problem.

Particularly we urge (1) heavier penalties for those found guilty of the illegal distribution and sale of habit-forming drugs, (2) additional facilities for the apprehension of these criminals, and (3) adequate funds for the rehabilitation of the victims of the drug traffic.

—U.S.A., 1954

PUBLIC EDUCATION

BELIEVING that education is a phase of community life with which the church should be greatly concerned;

Noting that in our democracy which is committed to universal education there are at present nearly 1,600,000 children without full-time schooling;

Realizing, moreover, the critical need for 140,000 more teachers and 203,000 more classrooms;

Recognizing the deterioration of our educational facilities as a threat to the church itself and believing that immediate action is necessary in light of facts brought out by the White House Conference, which said:

"This Committee also recommends that every community and every state do all that is economically possible to construct the buildings required, and that during such emergency periods as now exist, Federal funds also be used wherever shown to be necessary. In the richest nation in all history, there is no valid reason for the grimy, dilapidated, and overcrowded school buildings which too many children now occupy. It is an ironic truth that most Americans would not permit their children to live in a house which is as bad as the school buildings which many pupils are forced by law to attend";

Believing that churches can do much in their communities to increase respect for the teaching profession and for intellectual and cultural pursuits,

The 168th General Assembly

Re-examines its previous pronouncements on Federal aid to strengthen public education and reaffirms its support of such Federal contributions to education as shall be applied exclusively to the aid of tax-supported public schools, on conditions that the funds be (1) allocated according to a formula that moves toward full educational opportunity in the public elementary and secondary schools, in the various sections of the nation, and, within the states in both urban and rural districts; (2) safeguarded against the imposition of Federal control in matters of educational policy and administration; and (3) administered with a minimum of administrative costs;

Recommends to local communities that they make full use of their resources before requesting Federal aid;

Urges the churches to encourage qualified young people to enter the teaching profession as a Christian vocation and to encourage adult members, who are qualified to teach but who are not now so engaged, to return to teaching as a form of Christian service;

Approves the use of assistants who may not have had professional training but might serve as aids to regular teachers; and

Encourages Christians to take the initiative in seeking to establish citizens' groups in the interests of public education, such as the National Citizens' Commission for Public Schools and the White House Conference on Education.

—U.S.A., 1956

RACIAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONS

WE URGE every pastor and session to observe in spirit and practice that the sole constitutional basis for church membership is faith in Jesus Christ as Lord and Savior. (See Form of Government, Chapter II, Section 2; Confession of Faith, Chapter XXVI, Section 2; Confession of Faith, Chapter XXVIII, Section 4; The Larger Catechism, Question 62.)

We call upon the church to take grave cognizance of the fact that we still have segregated synods and presbyteries, and to take steps without delay to correct this condition.

We urge Presbyterian leaders and groups on official church missions to watch for possible violations of Christian brotherhood in connection with their assignments, and to refrain, in so far as possible, from participating in segregated meetings.

We urge pastors and sessions to continue working for a nonsegregated church and a nonsegregated society, and instruct the Departmnet of Social Education and Action to give further leadership in these efforts.

We recommend participation in human rights commissions in municipalities. In the light of the almost infinite variety of social problems and tensions which are our concern, we believe this is one way we can make "the mighty ounces of our weight" count for a constructive solution.

—U.S.A., 1953

We receive with humility and thanksgiving the recent decision of our Supreme Court, ruling that segregation in the public schools is unconstitutional—with humility because action by our highest court was necessary to make effective that for which our church has stood in principle; with thanksgiving because the decision has been rendered with wisdom and unanimity.

We urge all Christians to assist in preparing their communities psychologically and spiritually for carrying out the full implications of the Supreme Court's decision.

We call upon the members of our churches to co-operate with civic organizations, neighborhood clubs, and community councils as effective means for the accomplishment of racial integration in the public-school system, and to remember that integration must be indivisible in character, insisting that teachers as well as pupils be accorded full opportunity within the school system on the basis of interest, ability, and merit, without reference to race.

We commend our church for its continued efforts to make the law of Christ relative to all areas of the church's life. We particularly commend the increasing number of local churches which have become racially and/or culturally integrated and have learned the joy of full Christian fellowship.

The Supreme Court's decision, when considered with the repeated pronouncements of our General Assembly, as contrasted with the practices of our church at many points, makes it imperative that we now make these pronouncements effective in the following areas:

Particular Congregations—It has been too frequently the practice of churches caught in the population movements that change the racial or cultural characteristics of the area to seek more "desirable" locations in order to escape their Christian responsibility toward their community. It becomes ever more clear that sessions, ministers, and church members should make it their Christian concern to communicate the claim of Christ to every person within reach of their church.

Local churches should do more than merely announce to the community a policy of open membership regardless of racial or cultural background. A mere statement by the session of a church may all too easily lead only to complacency and self-satisfaction.

Our churches will be fulfilling their

duty to evangelize all people only when they sincerely and personally offer church membership to all persons living within the communities served by them. We call upon all Christians to work for, not wait for, a church and a society which rise above racial restrictions.

Sessions and ministers particularly should take the initiative in preparing the hearts and minds of people for full fellowship in Christ through preaching, pastoral work, and through all educational channels in the church and community.

Presbyteries and Synods—The existence of segregated presbyteries and synods in our church has long needed correction. However, we recognize complicating factors which suggest the advisability of careful study to determine the best and most expeditious way by which this dual structure can be eliminated. We therefore request the Moderator to appoint a committee of seven which will, in consultation with the Stated Clerk, confer with those synods and presbyteries now organized along racial and cultural lines as to the advisability of their being integrated into present synods and presbyteries covering the same geographical areas; and to report to the 167th General Assembly.

Church-related Colleges and Seminaries—The Supreme Court decision now renders irrelevant certain state laws that prohibited or seemed to prohibit integration of the student bodies and faculties of Presbyterian colleges.

We therefore urge that where policies now exist that prohibit the admission of students because of race, action be taken immediately to abolish these policies. Where policies permit the admission of all qualified students, we urge such action as will carry these policies into effect. We further recommend that in the procurement of faculty members colleges and seminaries comply with the spirit implicit in these pronouncements.

Church-related Institutions—We urge governing boards of church-related institutions to re-examine policies and practices of admission, residence, and employment and where necessary to readjust them so as to comply with the spirit of our church's position.

Boards and Agencies—We urge the boards and agencies of the church to enlarge the channels through which they seek applicants for staff positions. Because of the Supreme Court decision, educational facilities previously denied to minority groups will be available, producing a larger potential in categories formerly predominantly white.

We therefore recommend that the boards and agencies of the church, in maintaining their high standards, continue to seek to give all categories of employment a truly representative character.

—U.S.A., 1954

As Christians we hold that all forms of racial discrimination and segregation are denials of human worth and are contrary to the will of God.

We call for the launching of "operation desegregation" in our churches and church-related institutions and in the communities in which our churches work and serve:

I. The action of the Supreme Court of the United States with reference to racial segregation in public schools points up the failure of the church to achieve true fellowship within its own life. The church must act now to abolish from its practices all forms of segregation. We note progress already achieved on this front, but we must continue to work earnestly for desegregation with respect to

—local churches, presbyteries, synods;

—boards and agencies of the church, at all levels, professional as well as clerical staff, and in the distribution of funds;

—local church organizations and activities, sessions, church boards, employed staff, and volunteer leadership;

—church-controlled and church-related hospitals, homes for the aged, children's homes, and other institutions, both as to occupants and staff;

—all missionary enterprises;

—church-related schools, colleges, and seminaries, as to student bodies, faculties, and boards of trustees.

II. We call upon the members of our churches

—to work for desegregation in the busi-

nesses, professions, and unions to which they belong, and to urge the passage of fair employment practice laws with enforcement provisions in states in which legislation of this type is not already in effect;

—to work for desegregation in housing in their communities, private as well as public housing, and to refrain from entering into arrangements or covenants that tend to encourage segregation;

—to encourage and support all measures for facilitating the desegregation of public schools, both as to students and faculties;

—to seek the election or appointment of qualified representatives of Negro and other minority groups to public positions.

In light of the action of the 167th General Assembly in adopting the recommendation of the General Council implementing the concept of an "inclusive membership" in our church, we suggest careful study of this action and urge complete co-operation by each presbytery and session.

We direct the Department of Social Education and Action to record and to report to the 168th General Assembly the progress of the church in "operation desegregation."

In a discussion in the General Council it was recognized that a statement is needed from the General Assembly which will aid presbyteries and congregations in the practical steps of implementing the concept of an inclusive membership in our church. Therefore, the General Council recommends to the General Assembly that the following resolution be adopted:

The Confession of Faith, in the chapter "Of the Church" affirms that, under the gospel, the visible church is "catholic or universal," and describes it as "the Kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ, the house and family of God." The chapter "Of the Communion of Saints" stresses the obligation "to maintain an holy fellowship and communion . . . Which communion, as God offereth opportunity, is to be extended unto all those who, in every place, call upon the name of the Lord Jesus."

Under the constitutional provisions, we believe it to be the privilege and duty of the whole church, and of each particular congregation, to present the claims of the gospel to all people and, "as God offereth opportunity," to invite and welcome into this "holy fellowship and communion" all who believe, without distinction of race, color, or worldly condition. This is the evident intent, also, of the action of the General Assembly in declaring its acceptance of the principle of "the nonsegregated church in a nonsegregated society."

Desiring that our church may fully realize in practice what we believe to be an obligation laid upon us by the very nature of the gospel, and recognizing that, in the circumstances of the present time, God does now offer an opportunity to our congregations to demonstrate the inclusiveness of our fellowship in Christ and thus to give an example to the world, the 167th General Assembly declares it to be the policy of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America that each particular congregation shall in its membership be an inclusive church, defined as a church which diligently seeks and welcomes into full fellowship and communion, without any arbitrary distinctions whatsoever, all those living within its area of responsibility who, confessing their faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, are prepared to accept the privileges and duties of membership.

In order that the objective of this policy may be more speedily and completely attained throughout the denomination, the General Assembly further declares its judgment that each presbytery should formally express its acceptance of this policy and should, in such manner as it deems appropriate, bring this matter to the attention of the session and congregation of each church under its jurisdiction with the following recommendations:

1. That each church accept the responsibility to minister to its immediate total community;

2. That each church be inclusive in its service and membership, seeking full fellowship and communion with all, without distinction of race, color, or worldly condition;

3. That whenever it seems wise or necessary to relocate a particular church

or to merge it with another in a different community, every care be taken to assure that an adequate Christian ministry is maintained in the area in which it is now located, with due regard to the presence there of other Protestant churches, and that the requirements for such a continuing ministry be regarded as having a primary claim upon the facilities and resources hitherto available.

The General Assembly directs that this communication be sent to the stated clerk of each presbytery, and that each presbytery be requested to report to the Office of the General Assembly its action taken with respect thereto.

—U.S.A., 1955

Noting that there are serious racial problems to be faced in all sections of our country;

Observing that the problems confronting Christians in the South, the region affected most deeply and directly by the Supreme Court decisions outlawing racial segregation in public schools and other public services, are generally quite different from the problems confronting Christians in most other areas of the nation;

Realizing that the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. is not a sectional but a national body with members and churches in every one of the forty-eight states,

The 168th General Assembly

Addresses itself selectively to our churches and members throughout the nation with respect to the Christian responsibility that the Word of God and the mind of the church lays upon them, in facing the critical problems of race relations.

"No Problem"?

Realizing (1) that nowhere in our land can Negroes, and to a lesser extent other minority persons, escape the indignity of segregation or discrimination in one form or another, and (2) that the community or church that feels it has no problem because there is no present crisis may have an especially difficult problem;

Recognizing that though an increasing number of churches are actually seeking to bring all persons in their neighborhoods into membership without distinction as to race or social status, nevertheless, many churches, while morally supporting integration, are failing to implement their stand in terms of positive evangelistic effort, and some churches appear actually to be opposing integration,

The 168th General Assembly

Enjoins ministers and members of our churches

1. To stop talking about having "no problem" in situations where tension does not exist and the problem is therefore concealed,
2. To stop being content with a mere confession of guilt apart from deeds of repentance,
3. To stop pointing the finger of accusation at areas of high tension or conflict,
4. To begin serious, prayerful study where there is no present tension,
5. To bring about in small groups encounters and frank conversations with minority persons of comparable education and experience, and specialists in the field of human relations,
6. To welcome people of all races in the life and work of their churches,
7. To evangelize in the homes of nearby residents without regard to race in order to bring them into the fellowship of the church.

Residential Segregation

Emphasizing that it is the policy and purpose of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. to work for a nonsegregated society as well as a nonsegregated church;

Noting (1) that in many sections of our country real progress has been made in eliminating segregation in such fields as employment, transportation, hotel and restaurant accommodations, education, and other public services; (2) that in these same sections residential segregation usually continues to be a major problem; (3) that where residential desegregation has occurred it has nearly always been in older housing areas that tend to change from segregated white to segregated nonwhite because of the flight of white residents; and (4) that in most communities practically no new homes have been made available to nonwhite families,

The 168th General Assembly

Calls upon Christians who are contemplating the sale of property to see as of first importance the need of minority families for equal housing opportunities and adequate housing, and to make their houses available to all qualified purchasers without regard to race;

Directs the attention of homeowners to several studies, available from the Department of Social Education and Action, of the effect of nonwhite purchases on adjacent property values, demonstrating that values do not necessarily decline, and in fact often rise, after such purchases;

Urges sessions to bring Christians together in covenants of open occupancy which will stem the tendency toward "panic selling," and stabilize their neighborhoods on a nonsegregated basis.

Victims of Reprisals

Noting with respect to the Supreme Court decision affecting racial segregation in public schools:

1. That the governments of at least six states have committed themselves, with substantial support in public opinion, either to oppose absolutely or to delay as long as possible compliance with the decision;

2. That in some areas of our country groups calling themselves by such names as the White Citizens Councils have formed for the express purpose of using "every lawful means" to maintain racial segregation in all areas of life;

3. That economic pressure, intimidation, social and political pressure are commonly used, while racial violence, bloodshed, and murder are not unknown;

4. That men supporting desegregation have lost jobs, had their mortgages foreclosed, insurance policies canceled, credit cut off, and wholesale deliveries of goods stopped;

5. That some individuals, both laymen and ministers, of many denominations have taken courageous positions in their churches and communities and have been severely ostracized by friends and even family;

6. That several ministers of the gospel are known to have been forced out of their pulpits because of statements they had made or positions they had taken relative to this issue;

7. That a significant number of Presbyterian U.S.A. members have been subjected to indignities, intimidations, beatings, cross-burnings, and harrassing litigations,

The 168th General Assembly

Assures members of our presbyteries and churches who may be under persecution of the corporate support of our church and directs the Stated Clerk to give them encouragement, counsel, and other assistance as he may judge to be appropriate;

Urges Christians individually and corporately to help bear the burdens of their fellow men under persecution, by sending gifts of money to Church World Service for the relief of persons designated as "political refugees in our own country."

Job Discrimination

Noting that discrimination in employment consigns Negroes and other minority persons to the least desirable jobs without consideration of their personal qualifications or training, thereby depriving them of dignity and vocational opportunity,

The 168th General Assembly

Urges Presbyterian employers to take such steps as may be necessary to break the pattern of discrimination in employment;

Urges Christians to give individual and corporate support to employers who have courageously employed Negroes on a nondiscriminatory basis, prevailing patterns and attitudes of their community to the contrary;

And urges Christians to give support in the most appropriate ways for a Federal Fair Employment Practices law.

Rights for All

Recognizing the efforts of those responsible persons and organizations that have sought through the courts by legal means to secure Constitutional rights for all citizens,

The 168th General Assembly

Urges Christians to give them their prayerful support and to participate in their efforts.

Corporate Action

Noting that every major denomination has voiced support of the Supreme Court's decisions, but that pressures on individuals and churches at the local level to conform to the prevailing mood have been extreme in many localities;

Being aware that some Christians, both laymen and ministers, have supported the programs of White Citizens Councils and like groups, and a few have assumed positions of leadership in them, and that many Christians are urging ministers not to take positions against segregation;

Acknowledging the impossibility of apportioning degrees of guilt or innocence for a sin that afflicts the whole body of the church, and that it is the church's mission to be a prophetic voice of God's judgment and an instrument of his reconciling grace;

Remembering that the Scripture enjoins us all to "teach and admonish one another" (Col. 3: 16), and to "stir up one another to love and good works" (Heb. 10: 24), and believing Christians acting corporately and together are stronger in the Spirit than when left to act only as individuals,

The 168th General Assembly

Enjoins presbyteries and, especially, church sessions to consider prayerfully, in the light of the testimony of Scripture for love and justice, the common voice of the Church Universal against racial segregation, and the developments cited above, the corporate response God asks of them in the specific situations in which they find themselves; and

Urges sessions of churches located in communities of racial tension to find ways of bringing Christians and other citizens together in small groups across racial lines to discuss their common problems and goals relative to desegregation.

—U.S.A., 1956

We believe the United Presbyterian Church has always believed in the integration of the races. Therefore, in these days when this issue is astride the conscience of the nation we love, we reaffirm our first principles:

1. That God hath made of one blood all nations to dwell upon the face of the earth.
2. That he is no respecter of persons.
3. That men are created equal and meant to live together in a love that means equality of opportunity and privilege.

In the light of these principles we thank God that the laws of the land have made segregation illegal in education.

Furthermore, believing that segregation is a violation of the gospel of Jesus Christ we hereby recommend:

1. That local congregations minister to their own immediate communities, regardless of race, color, national, economic, or cultural background, win each person to the Lord Jesus Christ, and offer full membership and fellowship to all.
2. That all church-controlled and church-related institutions extend their ministries to all qualified persons without prejudice to race or cultural background.
3. That boards and agencies of the church make appointments to staff positions and other employment opportunities in conformity to this principle of integration.
4. The boundaries of presbyteries accord fully with the principle of integration.

—U.P., 1956

Indian Affairs

Our church has long been interested in the welfare of American Indians and has rendered great service, through a broad program of missionary endeavor, in ministering to their spiritual and social needs. We commend the Government for its efforts in bringing about the orderly termination of Federal supervision over tribes fully capable of handling their own affairs.

We believe that the termination of Federal services and controls should be preceded by an effective program of preparation and that at every step there should be conscientious and patient consultation with the groups affected.

It is fundamental that there be careful negotiation between Government officials and freely chosen representatives of the tribe or band to be affected, in formulating the legislation and in setting up and carrying out a step-by-step program of preparation for termination. In the cases where Federal services, trusteeship, and land tax exemption were provided for in treaties in exchange for benefits to the United States, the termination and the terms thereof should be contingent on the consent of a substantial majority of the members of the tribe or band affected. And even where no treaty engagements are involved, there should be conscientious and patient consultation before termination.

Prior to termination there should be an effective program of preparation which includes the following:

1. Fundamental education to at least the average level of our population in health and sanitation; literacy in English; family responsibilities; social adjustments; vocational and economic skills.
2. Health and physical well-being of Indians so that they meet acceptable public health standards (in relation to tuberculosis, pneumonia and influenza, trachoma, and infant mortality).
3. Development and use of reservation resources, including solution of the fractionated land problems.
4. Development of economic skills to make possible normal adjustment to employment.
5. A program of assisted voluntary relocation of individuals and families into areas of employment opportunity.
6. Protection of tribal integrity by provisions for the voluntary continuation of tribal life and cultural integrity, including communally owned and managed property.
7. Acceptance by state and local units of government of their respective responsibilities for services to Indians, administered on a nonsegregated basis and equal to those provided for other citizens.
8. Preparation of the population for nondiscriminatory treatment of Indian fellow citizens.

Both governmental and voluntary agencies should accept responsibility for accomplishing these goals. Churches should take steps to prepare their own congregations, whether these are predominantly Indian or non-Indian, for mutually helpful relationships.

We realize there is always the possibility that mission work may be carried on in such a way as to develop in those served a feeling of dependency. Therefore, we recommend that the General Assembly ask the Board of National Missions to make a careful examination of all our work with Indians to make sure that all our missionary methods and policies effectively prepare the Indians with whom we work for integration into the life of the nation.

In regard to granting to individual Indians the right to own and control reservation property as private citizens, under existing statutes and regulations, we believe that more adequate safeguards should be set up and enforced to prevent incompetent Indians from renouncing the trust status of their land and thus disinheriting the next generations. However, Indians who meet reasonable standards of education, economic competence, and social adjustment should be able to acquire a fee simple title.

It is necessary to erect and apply such safeguards as will prevent the raiding and exploitation of valuable Indian lands through the careless sale of property rights to irresponsible interests.

U.S.A., 1954

UNITED NATIONS

THE declaration of human rights by the United Nations holds immense promise for the welfare of all mankind. We urge that every church make careful study of this precious document and follow through the United Nations the development of the Covenant of Human Rights. We urge the passage of such legislation in this country as will be in keeping with our American traditions of freedom and justice to all men and be a guide to those seeking these same rights through the United Nations.

—U.S.A., 1949

Each year since the founding of the United Nations in 1945 our church has affirmed its warm support of this international organization as an invaluable instrument of world order. We rejoice in the many accomplishments of the United Nations and note that it has more than once stopped aggression, blazed new trails in the field of human rights and fundamental freedoms, promoted the well-being of subject and dependent peoples, engaged in many humanitarian endeavors, and promoted better standards of life around the globe. We are tempted often to stress the halting progress of the UN. It is more realistic to marvel that the UN has progressed and achieved at all in this kind of world.

1. We commend the President of the United States, the Congress, the Department of State, and other agencies of our Government in their support of the United Nations. We call upon the administration to continue making the United Nations a major cornerstone of American foreign policy. We urge that the United Nations be used as a major channel and reliance for the realization of our security objectives.

2. The Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. wishes to encourage the United Nations groups working in the fields of universal disarmament and the control of atomic energy. We have noted with genuine pleasure the leadership taken by our country's representatives in these groups.

3. We wish to warn our ministers and churches against the attacks being made upon the United Nations. We believe that the United Nations is not above criticism, but we regret the violent and misleading assaults upon the international organization. We ask the churches to make available to their members reliable studies and interpretations of the United Nations and its work.

4. We call upon our Government to make available its fair share of support of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund. We commend this program for its great work in providing for the needs of children made homeless in the last war and in developing child care services in many parts of the world where such concern for children has been lacking.

5. We encourage the continuation and extension of the program of technical assistance by our Government to underdeveloped regions. We urge the close coordination of this program with similar efforts carried on by the United Nations.

We urge also that these programs should be divorced completely from military and security objectives. We believe we should continue and maintain adequate support of other agencies such as WHO, FAO, and UNESCO.

6. Since we are approaching 1955, the time when there may be an international conference for the purpose of revising the UN Charter, we call upon the churches to consider the peril that lies in the direction of weakening or abandoning organized international co-operation, and the promise for peace that lies in the direction of a stronger and more responsible United Nations.

—U.S.A., 1953

It is important that no step be taken that would weaken the United Nations as an instrument for peace. Meanwhile consideration and study should be given to the useful development of the Charter through methods now being used, namely, interpretation and supplementary agree-

ments. We call, therefore, both for a stronger United Nations and for a stronger faith in the United Nations.

It would be tragic for the United States to lessen its support of this international agency. We urge all the member nations of the United Nations to examine their conscience and to join in prayer that no nation or nations will betray through selfish motives, the hopes of those who seek for the ways of peace.

—U.S.A., 1954

The attainment of peace requires structures through which the nations can cooperate in diminishing the causes of disorder in the world. The chief structure is the United Nations. We reaffirm and renew our support of the United Nations, not as a supranational organization, but as an instrument by which sovereign nations can meet together, plan together, and act together "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war."

We warn our churches and church members against malicious attacks on the United Nations on the part of persons and groups whose avowed purpose is "to get the United States out of the United Nations and the United Nations out of the United States." Honest criticism is often useful, but many of the current attacks on the United Nations are unfair and misleading. We need to emphasize the many excellent accomplishments of the United Nations and its specialized agencies in such areas as human rights; child welfare; education; health; relief and rehabilitation; refugee resettlement; technical assistance; economic development through international financing and trade, and the stabilization of employment; intercultural sharing and exchange; arbitration of disputes; status of women; agricultural education and research; demographic and social studies.

We call attention to the arrangements, under the United Nations, for the supervision and development of trust and nonself-governing territories. We urge our Government to encourage and support all sincere movements toward responsible self-government or independence on the part of nonself-governing territories, including those under the United Nations trusteeship system. It is assumed that there shall be adequately trained, indigenous leadership to administer such governments.

We note that the tenth session of the United Nations General Assembly this fall will consider the calling of a conference for the purpose of reviewing, and possibly revising, the United Nations Charter. The Charter of the United Nations, as a dynamic political instrument, should be subject always to review and amendment. We believe however that the present world situation is not conducive to a fruitful review conference. The remedy for world difficulties does not lie in Charter revision. We call attention to the demonstrated fact that the United Nations, on the basis of present Charter provisions, has been able to make important adjustments to changing situations. Effective alterations in the functioning of the Charter are often possible by the methods of reinterpretation and supplementary agreements.

We note with genuine appreciation the donation of a large rug to the United Nations by the Women's Organization of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. This rug, now being woven in Quito, Ecuador, will be used in a large hall at the United Nations Headquarters in New York. There will be an appropriate presentation on September 13, 1955.

International Exchange Program

We urge extension and expansion of the International Exchange Program (for students, teachers, technicians, farmers, and others) as a way of advancing international understanding and good will. We call upon churches and church members to extend hospitality and fellowship to these visitors. This is a high privilege and opportunity.

—U.S.A., 1955

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